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Resource Mobilization in Scientology:
Professional Practice Management

by

Deana Hall-Hoffarth ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Sociology

Edmonton, Alberta
Fall, 1995

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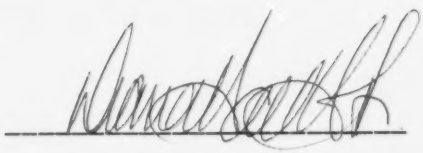

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Abstract

An exploratory study of resource mobilization in Scientology, this thesis examines the relationship between Scientology, affiliated companies offering L. Ron Hubbard's management technology in the form of practice management consulting, and individual medical professionals involved in these consulting programs (N=59). Identifying that resource mobilization theory does not offer adequate provisions to explain individual participation in specific social movements, the author utilizes Lofland and Stark's conversion model as a supplement.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Theory

Within the sociology of religion, a controversial sub-discipline is devoted to the description, explanation, and identification of groups that researchers alternatively label as cults, sects, new religious movements, ideological organizations, or alternative religions. In the 1960s and 1970s, early sociological emphasis on these groups focused on the personal and social dynamics of members. Researchers during this period elaborated the complex social psychological patterns involved in a variety of issues including recruitment, social control, belief and commitment maintenance, "brainwashing," and "deprogramming".

A more recent approach to the study of sectarian organizations involves an examination of their economic activity within the socioecomonic contexts in which they operate. Researchers endeavor to determine how social forces dictate group economic policies, and how group economic policies influence internal group functions (which include theology and recruitment).

Resource mobilization theory is one approach that researchers commonly utilize in studying the economics of alternative religions. This theory offers a series of general assertions regarding how social movements acquire and

organize the resources needed to assure their continued existence (McCarthy & Zald, 1987: 28). Consequently, resource mobilization theorists have examined the money-making and recruitment strategies of a number of new religions (Bird & Westley, 1988; Bromley, 1985; Johnston, 1980; Khalsa, 1986; Richardson, 1988; Robbins, 1988; Tipton, 1988). One organization, however, that has not been examined extensively with regard to resource mobilization strategies is the Church of Scientology.

Scientology's considerable financial holdings and extensive membership base warrant an economically-based sociological analysis. Currently the organization operates in 86 countries and, according to author Richard Behar, controls a four hundred million dollar empire (Lopez, 1993: H5; Behar, 1986: 315). In addition, one recent statement by an organization official in New York State indicates that approximately eight million people worldwide have participated in Scientology courses, and a further five hundred thousand take their first Scientology course each year (Lopez, 1993: H5). Thus, investigation into the organization's financial and membership components is imperative.

This thesis refers to resource mobilization theory's general precepts in an examination of Scientology's economic activities. It focuses specifically on the organization's recruitment of elite constituent-adherents through medically-based practice management companies [PMCs]. In addition to

the focus on Scientology's practice management programs, this study will identify a number of similar mobilization approaches applied by both Scientology and other ideological organizations.

Like all organizations, ideological groups such as Scientology develop economic strategies that attempt to ensure their existence. Ideally these strategies establish a constant flow of resources (including wealth, talent, time investments, etc.) from society at the same time that they meet particular needs of existing participants. Consequently, the groups claim to offer potentially interested members valuable services, which can include the management programs already indicated. Often the management programs promote these services without reference to the religious groups behind them. Through this promotional strategy, however, participants may become interested in the organization, seek further services, and even become members (Bird and Westley, 1988: 53, 55).

Regardless of how involved these programs lead individuals to become in these groups, participants nonetheless pay fees, or make "appropriate donations" for the services offered, and thus help to support the group financially. From the group's standpoint, these services can be quite profitable, since "much of the staff work is provided by persons devoted to these organizations who are paid far below what they would be paid in similar purely secular occupations" (Bird and Westley, 1988:53). In other

words, by offering these services, organizations stand to gain both new members and a significant amount of financial support. Resource mobilization theory outlines these activities and offers explanations as to how they contribute to the survival of organizations like Scientology.

Initial assertions from McCarthy and Zald's resource mobilization theory provide theorists with a framework from which to describe the relationship between a social movement and its larger social and economic environment. Subsequent researchers moreover, have developed a number of refinements within the theory. In one such clarification of the original theory, Bird and Westley (1988: 46) suggested that the economic strategies of religious groups, whether mainstream religions or sects, tend to correspond to the ideological underpinnings of the organization. In other words, organizations choose particular resource mobilization strategies to complement their overall policies. These policies include social and religious objectives as well as attitudes towards recruitment and membership (Bird & Westley 1988: 46).

Still missing from resource mobilization theory's elaborations are provisions for analyzing the motivations of individuals who join marketed, resource collecting, ideologically-driven organizations. In order to amend this theoretically-based oversight, I use Lofland and Stark's 'value-added' conversion model to explain how and why some individuals become involved in particular social movements.

In essence, Lofland and Stark's conversion model offers theorists an opportunity to examine the motivation of individuals in joining ideological organizations, which heretofore has been missing from resource mobilization theory. It allows researchers to identify the social factors that foster individual involvement in a social movement such as Scientology, and is thus particularly appropriate for application to the present study.

Application

This thesis examines an important yet unresearched portion of the economic practice of the Church of Scientology. The research focuses on a specific sub-group of companies that teaches Scientology doctrine, in the form of management technology, to medical professionals and business executives. Within this general framework, I utilize resource mobilization theory, Lofland and Stark's conversion model to assist in explaining the interaction between Scientology, its PMCs, and their potential recruits.

One of Scientology's most common methods of attracting new members is to offer potential recruits various courses as well as a form of psychotherapeutic counseling in exchange for fees or donations. An additional common method that Scientology uses in approaching potential clients is to offer them free personality profiles and IQ tests (Lamont, 1986: 35; Wallis, 1976: 160). Potential recruits answer the tests and submit them for analysis. Upon analyzing the results,

Scientology staff members identify a number of alleged potential growth areas, and offer a program of courses and counseling that are supposed to foster self-improvement (Dexheimer, 1991: 12; Zuziak, 1991: 2042). Clients who become involved with the church in this way can participate in courses reputedly designed to enhance personal skills in communication, physical health, and moral judgment, among others (Church of Scientology Celebrity Center International. 1986).

Scientology recruitment through IQ tests and personality profiles involves a primary relationship between individuals and the organization. In these cases, initial contact occurs between individuals and Scientology, and individual clients agree to purchase Scientology courses and counseling directly from the organization. In addition to joining Scientology directly through solicitations for personality and IQ tests, a number of circuitous ways exist that an individual can enter the organization, or at least contribute resources to it. The organization has developed semi-autonomous "front" groups that appeal to specific sub-populations on behalf of the social movement, fostering secondary relationships between individuals and the group.

The companies that I study in this thesis are only one type of front group among many. Other front groups target educators (Applied Scholastics), social reform (Association for Better Living and Education), ecology, (Earth Communications Office), celebrities (Celebrity Center

International), and psychiatric abuse (Citizens' Commission on Human Rights). Narconon is another type of front group that promotes Scientology belief and practices for use in reputedly curing drug and alcohol addictions. In other words, the Church of Scientology has developed a series of recruitment strategies that each appeal to a specific range of individuals in the general population. Viewed together, the combined appeal of the front groups is quite broad, and this wide-ranging appeal is integral to the organization's objective of converting every individual in the world to its doctrines.

Scientology the Social Movement

According to McCarthy and Zald, a social movement is a voluntary collectivity "that people support in order to effect changes in society" (McCarthy and Zald, 1973:2). While critics might dispute the voluntary nature of Scientology's members, no one would dispute that Scientology strives to change society. As the movement's own literature states, the organization and its members aspire to the goal of "clearing the planet" (Church of Scientology International, 1994: 9-10). This organizational goal involves recruiting as many individuals as possible into the organization and convincing them to achieve an internal status within the group known as "clear". By converting the population of the earth to its doctrines, the movement aspires to "reverse the downward direction of the current

civilization and actually bring about a cleared planet" (Church of Scientology International, 1994: 3).

The movement further claims to be "the ONLY technology which can revert the downward spiral and send man back upwards towards spiritual freedom" (Church of Scientology International, 1994: 3, [capitals original]). Guillaume Lesevre, Scientology's Executive Director International, announced to movement members that "this planet belongs to us all and it is the responsibility of every SCIENTOLOGIST to play an active role in our mission to create a new civilization. More than ever, that goal is within our reach" (Church of Scientology International, 1994: 3. Capitals original). As an organization with clearly stated goals that are directed toward affecting change in the society, Scientology fulfills the major criteria that McCarthy and Zald use to define of a social movement.

History and Doctrines

To understand what Scientology means by "clearing the planet," we need to look briefly at the movement's historical and doctrinal development. Its history and evolving doctrines reveal the conditions and entities that Hubbard believed his techniques "cleared." Prior to creating the Church of Scientology, Hubbard developed Dianetics, and thereby established himself as a pop-psychologist (Miller, 1987: 157). Hubbard's (1976: 150) original definition of Dianetics was "the basic science of human thought," but more

recent texts describe it as "practiced in the Church of Scientology as pastoral counseling, addressing the spirit in relation to his own body and intended to increase well-being and peace of mind" (Garrison, 1974: 20). Regardless of the designation, Dianetics first came into public view in Hubbard's 1950 book Dianetics: The Modern Science of Mental Health [DMSMH].

Dianetics was Hubbard's version of psychotherapy. He claimed that if applied properly, then the techniques could cure "migraine headaches, the common cold, ulcers, allergies, arthritis, and poor eyesight,"[1] as well as "bursitis, asthma, ...sinusitis, coronary trouble, [and] high blood pressure."[2] In its initial stages, the goal of Dianetics "therapy" was to relieve individuals of their psychosomatic illnesses. In other words, Hubbard claimed that the therapy was useful in eradicating sickness that the mind had created in the body.

Hubbard distinguished between what he termed the "reactive mind" and the "analytical mind," suggesting that the reactive mind was the root of all human evil (Hubbard, 1950: 57-76). According to Hubbard, the reactive mind acts as a storage facility for unconscious memories of physical or emotional pain called "engrams." Dianetic therapy could isolate and erase engrams so that individuals could more effectively utilize their analytical minds, which are incapable of error and are in complete control of all the

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1 Hubbard, 1976: 59.
2 Zellner, 1995: 106.

body's functions (Hubbard, 1950: 57-76). An individual who has erased all engrams reaches a state of "clear." The movement's goal of "clearing the planet" involves processing the world's entire population through Scientology auditing and courses into "clear" status.

According to Hubbard's text, clear is the optimum operating state that an individual can reach. Reputedly, individuals in the state of clear ("Clears") have erased all engrams or aberrations, and are thus free from all psychosomatic illness. Further claims suggest that clears have above average intelligence, and "pursue existence with vigor and satisfaction" (Hubbard, 1950: 8). Clears supposedly have complete control over their physical senses, and are thus free from the confines of color-blindness, short-sightedness, or deafness. Clears also are supposed to be privy to better memory recall, and have more active and creative imaginations. Hubbard claimed that the cleared individual is completely and utterly rational, and is thus incapable of error (Hubbard, 1950: 8-19). An individual allegedly becomes clear through Dianetics' central therapeutic technique -- auditing.

In auditing therapy, the therapist [the "auditor"] works with the patient [the "pre-clear"] in identifying and handling engrams. According to Hubbard, "the auditor's job is to safeguard the patient during therapy, to compute reasons why the patient's mind cannot reach into the engram

bank, to strengthen the patient's nerve and to *get those engrams*" (Hubbard, 1950: 210 [italics in original]).

The auditor and the patient search through the patient's memory for engrams. Through therapy, patients will reveal what they think will happen to them if they were able to erase the engram, and will attempt to discover the exact moment that the engram occurred. Once identified, the engram will cause a strong emotional reaction in the patient. The emotional release will induce healing of the engram, and bring the individual closer to a state of clear (Hubbard, 1950: 208-215).

Stated succinctly, Dianetics therapy, similar to psychotherapy, involves a client-therapist relationship, a search through the client's memory for past traumas, and a method for dealing with those painful memories. Unlike more conventional forms of therapy however, no requirements existed of formal training. An individual apparently needed only to read the DMSMH to begin Dianetics counseling (Lamont, 1986: 25).

Hubbard's book was well-received by the general public, and independent Dianetics therapy groups developed across the United States (Garrison, 1974: 35; Hubbard, 1978: 324; Lamont, 1986: 24; Miller, 1987: 158-159). Because the Dianetics movement grew so quickly, Hubbard had difficulty in maintaining control over the use of his therapy. The rapid and unexpected growth of the movement eventually led Hubbard to financial difficulties. In addition, the therapy came

under intense scrutiny from the American medical community, which did not approve of its theories or its professionally untrained therapists. Personal experiences ranged from individuals who were unable to go clear despite hundreds of hours of auditing, to those whom auditors declared "clear" but did not achieve the promised results (Wallis, 1976: 87).

Partly fueled by inconsistent results in clearing patients, independent auditors soon developed a penchant for searching for engrams in an individual's past lives (Kent, 1992: 7; Whitehead, 1974: 579). The introduction of the idea of past lives into the heretofore pseudo-scientific approach to mental health led to significant divisions within the Dianetics movement (Kent, 1992: 7). Hubbard was highly supportive of the idea, however, and suggested that auditors would achieve only mediocre results unless they guided their preclears in processing engrams established in prior lifetimes (Hubbard, 1952: 6; Kent, 1992: 7). The concept of past-lives was to figure highly in Hubbard's later ideological developments, and is central as the theological basis for Hubbard's forthcoming "science" of the soul.

The Church of Scientology

In the midst of Dianetics' financial and organizational difficulties, Hubbard developed a more complex and infinitely more organized social movement: the Church of Scientology. Scientology contained almost all of the original ideas put forth in Dianetics, with a slight deviation in the goal of

therapy. Within Scientology, instead of treating the reactive mind (as was the case in Dianetics), the goal was "to separate the analytical mind--which we [Scientologists] call thetan--from the body and, while it is separated, treat it until it is capable of handling with great ease any quantity of aberration in the reactive mind" (Hubbard, 1953: 316). In other words the techniques of Scientology would allow individuals to eventually heal themselves.

Significant structural and ideological changes within the social movement followed alterations in the therapeutic goals of therapy. Most significantly, Hubbard portrayed Scientology as a religion rather than a psychotherapy (as was the case with Dianetics). The religious designation allowed the group to apply for tax-exempt status but required some form of theological underpinning. Roy Wallis referred to the underlying belief system of religious Scientology as a "cosmology" perhaps reflecting its inter-galactic origins (Wallis, 1976: 103).

Cosmology

The basic starting point of Scientology's cosmology is the "thetan" or spirit. The group teaches that the thetan in an individual's immortal, omniscient and omnipotent inner self, similar in the Christian idea a soul (Wallis, 1976: 103). Xenu, a galactic leader 75 million years ago, sent the thetans to earth and punished them by confusing them with ideas of religion, sexual perversion, and other weaknesses.

He also implanted the thetans with various "body thetans" that further confused the thetan, causing emotional distress, confusion, and conflict (Atack, 1990, 32; Zellner, 1994: 108). In comparison with Dianetics, the goal of therapy or counseling in Scientology is to detach the body thetans (similar to erasing engrams) so that the individual can become a fully "operating thetan" (similar to becoming clear).

E-Meters

Equally central in the development of Scientology was Hubbard's introduction of the electro-psychometer [e-meter] to the auditing process. The e-meter is a form of skin galvanometer that measures resistance to a current passing between two terminals, which are tin cans held in the clients' hands. During auditing, pre-clears hold the two terminals as they search for engrams.

The e-meter dial displays a visual representation of the electric activity in the pre-clears' hands. The device works on the principles of the wheatstone bridge, measuring the conductivity and resistance of the skin. In this respect, it is very similar to lie detectors (Lamont, 1986: 26).

Scientologists view the various e-meter responses as "body-reads" or indications the thetan's state. Hubbard initially introduced the e-meter to Dianetics auditing, where it soon became the focus of opposition from the American Medical Association (Lamont, 1986: 27). Hubbard was able to

silence some of the e-meter's opponents by declaring the device a religious artifact, an essential instrument of religious healing, similar to holy water in the Catholic Church (Lamont, 1986: 28).

The Bridge

Progression in Scientology is synonymous with "flowing up the Bridge." Scientology doctrine describes the Bridge as a symbolic representation of travel "from unknowingness to revelation...to a high level of skilled application of Scientology technology" (Hubbard, 1987: 27). The Bridge contains two distinct divisions, one for Auditor Training and the other for Student Processing (taking Scientology courses and being audited).

Individuals progress in a linear fashion up the Bridge and must take each course in its prescribed order. One of the first goals on the Processing side of the Bridge is to reach the state of Clear. After becoming Clear, the student proceeds on to the Operating Thetan levels. An increase in cost accompanies each additional training and processing level, so that individual Scientologists can spend large sums of money as they progress up the Bridge.

During his lifetime, Hubbard added additional courses and training levels to the Bridge as well as reformulated existing courses into "new and improved" versions. Due to the ever-increasing numbers of courses and sub-levels of

training, the Bridge is essentially infinite (Lamont, 1986: 35-36).

By recruiting more members and starting them on the Bridge, Scientologists believe that they move closer to achieving their group's goal of clearing the planet. According to one recent Scientology publication, "Scientologists are the only people who have the know-how to reverse the downward direction of the current civilization and actually bring about a cleared planet" (Church of Scientology International, 1994: 3). The organization offers a number of methods for individual members to assist the organization in achieving this goal. These methods include becoming a Scientology minister and auditor, or promoting the organization through "social betterment programs" such as Narconon, Criminon[3], and WISE[4] (Church of Scientology International, 1994: 11).

Focus of the Thesis

One type of Scientology's specialized front-groups has received little academic attention, and thus offers an interesting opportunity for study. This cluster of front groups are companies that obtained the right to teach Hubbard's management techniques to non-Scientologists. Their members operate as management trainers and consultants,

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[3] Criminon is a Scientology organization developed to rehabilitate criminals using L. Ron Hubbard's "social betterment tech[nology]" (Church of Scientology International, 1994: 11).

[4] The World Institute of Scientology Enterprises.

marketing Scientology doctrine and practices to insurance representatives, computer programmers, and medical professionals. They also mobilize new recruits and considerable financial resources for Scientology.

A first goal of this thesis is to analyze the relationship between Scientology and these semi-autonomous practice management companies. I argue that these companies serve as resource mobilization tools for Scientology, despite claims by company officials that they are entirely distinct and separate from the organization. I will establish this relationship by examining available Scientology documents and claims made by participants of both the practice management programs and Scientology officials.

In addition to analyzing the relationship between Scientology and the practice management companies, I also explain the relationship between the practice management companies and their clients. The practice management companies not only interact with Scientology, but also with corporate and medical executives. Beyond offering management skills to their clients, the management companies also serve as a bridge into the larger religious organization. In short, Scientology actively recruits new members through the practice management programs. These executives seem to fall outside of the assumed range of potential recruits to new religious movements, which traditionally involved youth or socially marginal segments of a population (Enroth, 1977: 12). Consequently, a second goal of the thesis is to examine

the social psychological and professional conditions that predispose medical professionals to become religious and ideological converts.

A third goal of this thesis is to identify the general pattern that exists in the relationship between the Church of Scientology, its affiliated practice management companies, and the medical professionals involved in their programs. Towards this end, I arranged the thesis in such a way as to follow the professionals in a chronological sequence through their interaction with both entities.

I designate the first stage of involvement between medical professionals and the practice management companies [PMCs] as "initial contact." I discuss the issues involved in this stage in chapter three. During "initial contact," the medical professional becomes aware of the management program, either through personal contact with a PMC representative or through media or direct-mail advertisements. This stage also involves introductory seminars and free practice analyses. During seminars and practice analyses, PMC consultants suggest solutions to problems plaguing individual medical practices.

As a result of this initial marketing effort, the professional may seek further information, and enter "practice management training", which is the second stage of involvement. An analysis of the second stage forms the basis of chapter four. If professionals choose to purchase practice management consulting packages, then they become

constituents of Scientology, as the PMCs forward a portion of their course fees to the organization.

During practice management training, a PMC consultant and the medical professional review the results of the professional's personality profile, completed during the practice analysis. The results of the personality profile often indicate a need for additional counseling regarding specialized "problems" for which the management consultants are not trained. The consultant will recommend that the professional discuss additional training or counseling with a representative from Scientology, thereby placing the professional in a position to enter the third stage of involvement with the social movement.

The third stage of involvement comprises direct purchasing of Scientology courses and counseling. I discuss this process in chapter five. At this point, the professional becomes a constituent-adherent of the social movement, supporting Scientology both financially and ideologically.

The three stages of involvement (initial contact, practice management consulting, and direct participation in Scientology) represent the professionals' increasing levels of involvement with the social movement. Because these three levels are very similar to Lofland and Stark's sequential conversion model, I use the model to assist in describing the professionals' increasing levels of commitment. I argue that insufficient training in practice management skills and

increasing competition in medical fields predispose professionals to the PMC message. If professionals encounter Scientology's management marketing efforts during a time of significant financial, professional, or personal strain, then they may be susceptible to the PMC's promises and enroll in their programs. Consequently, I follow sequentially the professionals interactions with their management consultants, and then, with Scientology.

Methodology

The central objective of this research project is to employ the available scientific methods within the sociology of religion to explain Scientology's involvement in professional practice management. This overall objective involves establishing the previously outlined goals of examining the relationships between Scientology, the PMCs, and the medical professionals. My central proposition involves demonstrating that Scientology uses practice management programs as a resource mobilization tool, and in return gains both financial support and new members for the organization. Furthermore, I argue that the effectiveness of these resource mobilization efforts is contingent upon preexisting structural deficiencies in the practice management training of medical professionals.

In order to verify the viability of my theoretical arguments, I had to establish the existence of two distinct

processes. First, I had to establish that professional medical training lacks sufficient education in practice management skills. Second, I had to establish that Scientology uses practice management programs as resource mobilization strategy. In essence I had to test my belief that Scientology seeks to gain both financial support and new members through its resource mobilization efforts.

In order to determine whether structural deficiencies existed in the training of practice management skills during professional medical education, I examined both objective and subjective indicators. This examination involved two distinct processes. In order to obtain an objective measure of practice management training prior to entrance into the professional field, I examined available Canadian dental, veterinary, and chiropractic school calendars to determine the amount of training time devoted to teaching practice management skills. I obtained subjective data regarding the adequacy of practice management training by determining if the medical professionals in the study felt that they received adequate training in practice management skills.

For the purposes of this particular research effort, investigation had to go beyond a cursory description of the relationship between providing and receiving management consulting. Because of the unique quasi-religious basis of the management programs in question, I incorporated an investigation into the ideological foundations of Scientology's practice management courses. This

investigation involved addressing the motivations of Scientology's management companies for including ideologically-driven content in their seminars, and examining why some medical professionals accepted or rejected that information. What makes this research effort unique is its combination of identifying the structural and ideological relationship between Scientology and its management consulting clients.

Propositions

I developed the following propositions to guide my research:

1. Professional medical training emphasizes technical skills over business and organizational ones. This emphasis has left some medical professionals susceptible to management difficulties.

2. Scientology has developed management consulting packages out of its preexisting management technology. The organization markets these programs to medical professionals who are in need of such information and training.

3. Scientology is using its management consulting programs to access resources of money and new members in order to support its continued existence.

Taken together, these propositions provided a base from which to examine the relationship between the need for management training and Scientology's involvement in offering those services.

After analyzing the pre-existing structural deficiencies in medical professional management training, I will explain the motives behind the activity of Scientology in filling the management needs of these professionals. Resource mobilization theory will be useful in this explanation because it analyzes the strategies of social and ideological organizations in obtaining the resources that they need to exist and survive.

Study Design and Execution

Methods

In order to confirm the research propositions, I utilized three distinct research methods. First, I conducted a content analysis of primary documents, including Canadian dental, veterinary, and chiropractic school calendars along with media and legal accounts of professionals' experiences with Scientology's practice management programs.

In order to establish an objective measure of the amount of dental school training that students receive during their professional education, I obtained the course listings from eight of Canada's ten dental schools, three of its four veterinary colleges, and one chiropractic college.[5] I then calculated the percentage of all credit hours devoted to the training of practice management skills. I eliminated three of the dental schools from the sample, as they did not offer

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[5] Due to language limitations, I restricted the population for this particular sample to calendars printed in English. This parameter led to the exclusion of two Canadian dentistry calendars, which were printed in French.

information sufficient to calculate a comparable percentage. Thus, in total, I obtained usable data from nine of fifteen educational institutions.

Because it was difficult to locate a large sample of medical professionals to interview regarding experience with the practice management companies of interest to this study, I chose to supplement my interviews with content analysis of secondary data, in the form of media accounts. I was able to obtain thirteen individual media accounts of personal experience with Scientology's medical practice management programs. Together, the articles recounted the experiences of fifty-four medical professionals, including dentists, veterinarians, chiropractors, and podiatrists, as well as former employees of the practice management companies in question. Furthermore, I obtained one legal affidavit, which summarizes the personal experience of a dentist with one of Scientology's affiliated practice management programs. I coded the information contained in the media and legal accounts into sixteen individual categories, so that I could accumulate and compare information contained in each individual's experience with the practice management programs.

Second, I conducted personal interviews with medical/dental professionals previously or currently involved in the Scientology-affiliated practice management courses. I personally conducted interviews with one veterinarian, one dental office manager, and one chiropractor, and participated

in the interview of an additional dentist. In addition, I obtained a transcript of an interview with a former Scientology staff member involved in one of the practice management companies. The interviews involved general open-ended questions, and essentially followed the practitioners in a linear sequence through their involvement with the PMC and Scientology.

Third, I completed a literature review of Scientology internal documents and the course contents of one of the practice management training programs. Available internal documents include Scientology textbooks and dictionaries and World Institute of Scientology Enterprises advertisements and publications. I obtained practice management training program material from one of the interview subjects.

Searches for relevant academic treatment of Scientology's resource mobilization efforts reveal that there has been little systematic research in this area (Zellner, 1995:116-117).[6] Several media accounts are available about questionable practice management consulting firms, but they lack rigorous scientific analysis. The lack of any relevant sociological treatment of the phenomena is troubling because a number of issues involved have direct implications for sociology.

First, the sociology of religion is interested in explaining the changing recruiting patterns of Scientology

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[6] CD Rom searches for academic treatment of this issue in both sociology and medical/dental journals reveal than no articles have been written on this topic in the last ten years.

and other ideological organizations. Second, the movement of sectarian groups into the specific field of management consulting generates questions in the area of social organization and organizational analysis. Third, the actions of medical professionals in seeking management programs suggests that professional training and education the educational process may have left them without essential skills necessary for their professions. For these reasons, an adequate scientific treatment of Scientology's PMCs is useful if not important.

In order to establish that Scientology uses the practice management programs as resource mobilization tools, I had to establish that the two entities are in fact linked to one another. Scientology does not approach medical professionals directly by offering practice management training. Rather, apparently independent practice management companies approach the professionals and offer Scientology's management techniques as a method of developing management skills within a medical practice. One of the methods I used to establish a link between Scientology and the individual practice management companies was to examine the similarities in training that individuals receive, regardless of whether they take courses from Scientology directly or through one of its affiliated practice management companies.

Sampling

Sampling issues were relevant in both the content analysis of data and in the interviewing of individual practitioners. Both availability of information and language restrictions guided the sampling of formal educational training data. For example, the University of Laval and the University of Montreal both print their calendars in French. I found it difficult to compare this data with that from the calendars published in English. For this reason, I chose to exclude the calendars from University of Laval and the University of Montreal from the final analysis.

I relied heavily upon snowball-sampling to access individuals who have had contact with the practice programs that are of interest in this study. The practice management programs of interest are based in the United States, and focus much of their training efforts in their host country. Limitations of travel, time, and practicality, made it difficult to obtain a large pool of potential interview subjects.

As Marybeth Ayella notes, it is very difficult to access a representative, random sample of members from ideological organizations. An underlying assumption of bias colors both active and former members of any sectarian group (Ayella, 1993: 112, 114). Active members may provide the researcher only with the "official" version of sectarian activity, withholding essential information valuable to the study.

Alternatively, researchers often view the recollections of ex-members as "'atrocity tales' cultivated in deprogramming sessions" (Ayella, 1993: 114).

When a researcher accesses ex-members and excludes current participants, then the sample generally contains only individuals who were dissatisfied with the organization. So, for example, in the interview sample, the five subjects generally were dissatisfied with their association with both Scientology and the PMCs. In situations such as this one where the sample is comprised mostly of ex-members, researcher's central task becomes one of separating the facts from the ex-members' interpretations of their experiences with the group (Ayella, 1993: 114). By combining interviews with media accounts and primary documents, I hope to alleviate this potential bias by comparing the experiences of a number of individuals who had varying levels of interaction and divergent opinions of Scientology and its affiliated PMCs. I have summarized the professionals' extent of involvement with and attitudes toward both the PMCs and Scientology in Appendix A.

In a content analysis of all the available media sources, I categorized the contents of each article into comparable divisions. I developed the divisions by examining each of the articles and determining several frequently appearing themes. After designating the thematic divisions, I re-analyzed each article, and coded its contents with respect to these divisions. I further utilized these themes

to develop the open-ended interview questions, to make all available data comparable. I have placed a summary of the content codes in Appendix B.

Although I would have preferred access to a larger number of interview subjects, I hope to have alleviated potential shortcomings in this area by augmenting the interviewees' experience with information obtained through content analysis of media accounts. This type of sampling provided descriptive information regarding the content and effect of the programs, rather than ascertaining the scope of professionals involved. Further research in this area may involve a more extensive, probabilistic approach to data collection.

Chapter 2: Initial Interaction: Contacting Potential Constituents

Conversion Model

In their theory of conversion into world-transforming religions, John Lofland and Rodney Stark suggest that *predisposing conditions*, comprising of attributes of individuals prior to contact with an ideological group, are key elements in the path to conversion (1965: 864). Along these lines, I argue that limited training in practice management skills, increasing intraprofessional competition, and decreasing profitability in medical practices predispose medical professionals to need management training. Because resource mobilization theory does not offer a detailed assessment of individual motives for joining a social movement such as Scientology, I will rely upon Lofland and Stark's conversion model to provide a supplementary interpretive framework.

Lofland and Stark's model is well-established within conversion literature, and represents an essential shift in focus from previous conceptions (Richardson, 1985: 168). Thomas Robbins conducted an extensive review of conversion and recruitment theories and concluded that the Lofland/Stark model was "the most influential sociological model of

conversion-commitment processes in religious movements," with the possible exception of the brainwashing motif (1988: 79).[7]

Lofland and Stark's formulation of the conversion process was the first model to suggest an active role by the individual recruit (Richardson, 1985: 168). Although Lofland subsequently referred to the actor in the original model as being too passive, it was nonetheless a significant departure from the existing conversion literature (Lofland, 1978: 22; Richardson, 1985: 168). Richardson (1985: 168) suggests that the Lofland and Stark model provided a bridge between the passive and active conceptions of the recruit and heralded its development as a unique approach to ideological conversion.

A significant factor in the pervasive influence of the Lofland & Stark conversion model is its attention to individual motives, organizational motives, as well as pre-existing structural contingencies (Robbins, 1988: 79). The model's ability to encompass a broad range of elements in examining the conversion process increases its applicability (as I am doing regarding resource mobilization theory) while at the same time leaving it open to potential criticisms (Downton, 1980; Greil & Rudy, 1984; Kox, Meeus, & Hart, 1991;

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[7]The brainwashing approach to conversion views converts as "vulnerable" and "unsuspecting" victims of "devious" organizations using "information control, overstimulation of the nervous system, forced confessions, and ego destruction" (Snow & Machalek, 1984: 178-179). Although the brainwashing motif is popular in contemporary media approaches to conversion, sociologists have tended to be critical of the perspective (Richardson, 1985; Robbins, 1988: 72). Critics refer to the approach as "anti-religious" and repudiate the absence of attention to the motives of individual recruits (Robbins, 1988: 72-73).

Richardson, 1985; Rocheford, 1982; Snow & Phillips, 1980). Although Lofland and Stark did not suggest that their model was universally applicable, several researchers have applied the model to a diverse range of groups, with varying amounts of success (Greil & Rudy, 1984, Robbins, 1988: 80).

Lofland and Stark view conversion as a series of seven sequential stages that converts follow en route to total commitment (1965: 864). They operationalize total conversion as a state in which converts express both active and verbal commitments to the organization (1965: 864). The Lofland and Stark conception of conversion parallels Balch's (1985: 28) view of recruitment, in which an individual *joins* a group, as opposed to his view of conversion, which implies a "radical change in belief and personal identity." Thus, for Lofland and Stark conversion to a world-transforming religion did not imply a significant shift in personal ideology. I view conversion in the same way for the purposes of this thesis.

Predisposing Conditions

Lofland and Stark divide the conversion process into two distinct entities: predisposing conditions and situational contingencies. Predisposing conditions refer to the state of the individual recruit prior to contact with the organization. They comprise background factors that situate individuals in a position conducive to recruitment into an ideological organization. According to Lofland and Stark, these predisposing conditions offer necessary, but not

sufficient, motivation for conversion. For conversion to occur, predisposing conditions must be followed by a number of situational contingencies, which affect the interaction between the predisposed individual and the organization. The predisposing conditions include some form of tension, a problem-solving perspective conducive to the message of the organization, and self-designation by the pre-convert as a seeker.

Tension

A number of economic, social, and personal strains may impinge upon a medical professional at any one time. Presumably, individual responses to these factors will vary considerably. The issue that is of importance to this thesis, however, is the process that occurs when these individual tensions lead to a determinable social pattern of response. In this case, the pattern involves medical professionals obtaining practice management training from Scientology and its affiliated PMCs.

The consulting packages that Scientology's PMCs offer their clients are attractive to the medical professionals for a number of reasons. First, analysis of the contents of professional medical training indicates that professionals obtain very little practice management training during their formal education, creating a deficiency of skill in this area. Second, medical professionals currently are facing increasing intraprofessional competition and declining

profitability. These social and economic conditions often lead the professionals to seek some form of management assistance (Crain 1989: 25).

In order to establish a cursory but objective measure of the amount of practice management education available during professional training, I obtained information regarding the proportion of educational hours devoted to imparting these skills in dental, veterinary, and chiropractic colleges in Canada. In procuring this information, I utilized two complimentary methods: first, whenever possible, I acquired information directly from university calendars. Second, when that information was not available, I contacted the colleges and requested the appropriate information. By using both methods, I was able to obtain usable data from ten of the eleven colleges in the sample. The following list shows the percentage of instructional hours devoted to imparting practice management skills within designated practice management courses to dental, veterinary, and chiropractic students in Canada:

University of Alberta (dentistry)	0.8%
University of British Columbia (dentistry)	1.7%
Canadian Memorial Chiropractic College	0
University of Guelph (veterinary)	0
University of Prince Edward Island (veterinary)	0
University of Manitoba (dentistry)	1.7%
University of Saskatchewan (dentistry)	0.7%

University of Saskatchewan (veterinary)	0
University of Toronto (dentistry)	0.9%

This summary does not evaluate the content or quality of information imparted to students during their course work. Instead, it represents an objective measure of the amount of time spent on training medical professionals in practice management skills. The apparently low to non-existent emphasis on training these skills supports subjects' claims that their professional training did not prepare them to effectively manage their practices. In a preliminary investigation of this phenomenon, I found that professionals who became involved in PMC programs felt that their professional education had not prepared them effectively to manage the economic aspects of their practices.

One dentist, a subject from the media portion of the sample, indicated that:

> [The practice management program] really filled a void for me as far as having a management technology.... Dental school provides you with the technology of dentistry so you can practice, but it doesn't give you an education in administration and communication. When it comes down to treating patients, you have to deal with staff and communicate with patients on dental needs and treatment plans. Anything that can help you do that is a tremendous asset to the profession (Jakush, 1989: 15).

Other professionals in the sample agree that professional education offered little assistance in preparing them to manage their practices.

Dr. White acknowledged that while his veterinary college did offer a practice management course, it was an option, and he did not participate in it (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1995: 52). Consequently, upon graduation, he had no practice management skills whatsoever. Dr. Green, who did participate in a practice management course during his formal education, indicated that rotational requirements forced him to miss a significant portion of the course, and yet the information that it did provide was not at all useful in his own practice (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1994: 87).

Lack of formal training in practice management skill is only one of the economic challenges facing contemporary medical professionals. A second challenge relates to declining incomes among medical professionals. According to one recent Canadian estimate, average 1990 incomes for full-time dentists was almost five thousand dollars less per year than it was in 1980. Decreasing wages partly are a result of increasing competition, since the total number of practicing dentists increased by almost 3,000 during that ten year period. Increased competition along with better oral health in the general population have placed significant strains on the profitability of Canadian dental practices (Coutts, 1995: A7).

Veterinarians also appear to be encountering significant financial pressures. In 1989, the average annual salary for American veterinarians was only $48,000, while medical doctors' salaries averaged $110,000 (Crain, 1989:25). Similar to Canadian dentists, American veterinarians' income also has been declining relative to the cost of living. In addition, more professionals are entering the field than are leaving it, increasing intraprofession competition (Crain, 1989:25).

The combined effect of poor formal training in practice management skills, increasing competition, and declining wages places significant strains on the profitability of contemporary medical practices. These predisposing socio-economic and training conditions are leading some medical professionals to seek assistance in enhancing the financial viability of their practices (Crain, 1989: 26). When medical professionals who seek management training encounter PMCs offering LRH[8] technology, their previously poor financial management training and their current economic pressures heighten their potential for enrolling in management courses.

Although this thesis is not designed to offer statistical proof that practice management difficulties predispose professionals to recruitment into Scientology through its affiliated PMCs, subjects from the interview portion of the sample did indicate that the lack of formal training in practice management served as motivation to seek

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[8] L. Ron Hubbard

training in these skills. The deficiencies in practice management skills represent a parallel to Lofland and Stark's predisposing conditions to ideological conversion.

Limited management training, increased intraprofessional competition, and decreased profitability can lead to financial tension for some medical professionals. Presumably, not all medical professionals experience financial tension, and not all medical professionals experiencing financial tension seek management assistance. It is clear however, from an examination of the subjects in both the interview and media samples, that professionals who sought management consulting felt a need to augment their existing administrative skills.

Dr. Green, for example, experienced difficulties in maintaining a sufficient flow of patients through the office, in keeping hygienists on staff, and in controlling administrative time (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1994: 15-17). Dr. White describes his partnership as "tenuous" at the time of initial contact with Sterling Management Systems:

> ...we both felt as though each of us was working harder than the other. And it was a very trying time interpersonally between my partner and I because of how hard we were working and the assumptions that we were making about each other. [We were] not really spending the time to communicate with each other, and there were invariably wrong assumptions. So that's why, when we

got these advertisements in the mail, they were attractive to us (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1995: 3). Similar claims existed of management difficulty prior to PMC contact for subjects in the media sample. One subject indicated, "I was working 80 hours a week and running around crazy. I was not making money, and I was not happy" (Dexheimer, 1991:9). Another subject suggested, "for me, there may have been a certain amount of desperation. The business had grown and grown until about one year ago, when it had very much leveled off. Things were looking scary for us" (Dexheimer, 1991: 12). In another case, "[the consultant] said he could give me more money, less work. At the time we were really getting busy, and I felt that the practice was out of control. They said they would get control" (Dexheimer, 1991: 13). These statements reflect the professionals' need for some form of management assistance prior to encountering Scientology's PMCs.

The existence of financial tension represents the first of a series of steps leading to conversion into Scientology via PMCs. Professionals who encounter this tension experience one of the predisposing conditions and, in some cases, continue on the path towards conversion.

Problem-Solving Perspective

In addition to the experiences of tension, individuals who hold problem-solving perspectives similar to that of the organization further increased the possibility of conversion.

Lofland and Stark suggested the necessity of converts holding a religious problem-solving perspective prior to their conversions to the Unification Church (1965: 867-868).[9] I argue that professionals heighten their chances of joining Scientology through a PMC if they value a scientific or rational problem-solving perspective that seems based on objective measurement and appears to be in line with one that the PMCs dictate. The scientific/rational perspective that the PMCs emphasize focuses on record-keeping that allows professionals to measure and reward business expansion and punish productivity decline, in a manner similar to Taylor's Scientific Management (Krahn and Lowe, 1993: 200-202).

Subjects in this study offer examples of a preference to the objective, scientific approach to problem-solving. Often Dr. Green referred to an appreciation for the "black and white," "concrete" nature of the PMC approach to management (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1994: 30-31). He suggested that he believed in the authenticity of the personality profiles because the consultant presented them in graphic form, a media that appealed to his "science background" (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1994: 30). Dr. White also expressed a preference for the PMCs' apparently scientific approach to management:

> They call it "technology"... I didn't realize that management had become so scientific that you would actually call it technology, but that's the word they

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9 Although the researchers identified the group in their study as the "Divine Precepts" or "DP" at the time of the original publication, sociologists of religion long have known that group was in reality the Unification Church.

> use. And it certainly gives you an impression that they have everything so codified, and so well defined that there's no art to it at all. Its pure science.... Management is easy to do, if you just learn it the right way, their way (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1995: 14).

Having learned a scientific approach to problem-solving during their formal education, subjects appeared to be relieved that they could apply the same method to practice management (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1994: 17-18; Hall & Kent, Interview, 1995: 6, 14).

Seekership

Lofland and Stark suggest that when problems arise, individuals actively will seek strategies that support their problem-solving preference (1965: 368). Thus, medical professionals with management difficulties who have a scientific problem-solving perspective will seek a scientific or rational solution to those problems. The medical professionals in the study offer evidence of seekership, to the extent that they sought outside assistance with their management difficulties, through apparently rational management programs. Dr. Green, for example, had used the services of an independent management consultant on two occasions prior to contact with one of Scientology's PMCs (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1994: 16-18). Regardless of the individual situation, the professional presumably must feel

some need for management training in order to seek consulting services.

Resource Mobilization: Cultivating Constituents

Initial interaction between medical professionals and Scientology's affiliated practice management companies (PMCs)[10] generally occurs when the professionals receive an invitation in the mail to attend a free introductory seminar or participate in a free practice analysis.[11] In addition to contacting potential clients through direct-mail solicitations, the PMCs also mail newsletters and magazines to professionals (WISE, 1988b: 8). These newsletters include Health Management, published by WISE, a division of Scientology, as well as Professional Management, Today's Dentist, and Today's Professional, published by Sterling Management Systems.

These magazines contain advertisements for consulting services, testimonials from present clients, free personality assessments, advertisements for L. Ron Hubbard publications, as well as articles promoting the benefits of practice management consulting. They also introduce L. Ron Hubbard's administrative ideas to the professionals (WISE, 1988b: 8). Thus, without ever having met with a PMC representative, some

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10 Although Scientology has several affiliated management companies, I will refer to only those companies that specialize in professional medical practice management. These companies are Sterling Management Systems, Singer Consultants, and Hollander Consultants.

professionals may already have been introduced to Scientology doctrine. In addition to publishing their own journals, the PMCs also advertise in respected professional journals (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1995: 3-4).

Advertising through direct-mail and the media is a characteristic common to McCarthy and Zald's "professional social movements" (1973,1987: 59-60). McCarthy and Zald used the term "professional social movements" to describe a new form of social movement that evolved out of the "bureaucratization of social discontent" (McCarthy & Zald, 1973: 3). This was a evolutionary process in which the functions historically served by a movement's members were being taken over by highly skilled, paid workers. Professional social movements were able to use their monetary resources to hire specialists in the areas of marketing and promotion, fundraising, legal counsel, lobbying, and leadership (McCarthy & Zald, 1973: 15-16, 20-23).

McCarthy and Zald (1973: 17-20) indicate that the professionalization of staff positions leads to a number of further and equally significant changes. Social movement activity becomes better organized and more efficient. Fewer active members are necessary to operate within the movement and effect the desired change. A shift occurs in the quality of resources that the social movements need. Resources of money to support movement staff become more valuable, thereby allowing individuals to support the goals of the social movement from a distance with donations of money instead of

donations of time and energy. Social movements are no longer dependent on a large membership base to achieve their goals. Obtaining material resources becomes a significant focus of organizational efforts.

Decreased reliance on an active membership base brings the central assumptions of traditional social movement literature into question (McCarthy & Zald, 1973: 17). According to classical theorists, the membership base provided the money, energy, and leadership for the movement (McCarthy & Zald, 1973: 17). The new generation of social movements turn to outside sources for those same resources, and they no longer rely upon "self-interested memberships concerned with personally held grievances" (McCarthy & Zald, 1973:18).

Consequently, the funding base for social movements' activities could be completely separate from individuals who would benefit from the organizations' successes (i.e. potential beneficiaries [McCarthy & Zald, 1973: 18]). This arrangement for financial support meant that the movements became more reliant upon the funding base than on the beneficiaries (McCarthy & Zald, 1973: 18). If the goals of these social movement are met, then they do not have to disband, but simply can pick up new causes and carry on (McCarthy & Zald, 1973: 25). Neither the active staff members nor the support base of the social movement needed to be uniquely committed to the particular goals of the movement (McCarthy & Zald, 1973: 18). Social movement activity had

become a business of reallocating resources from the haves to the have-nots.

Traditional social movements relied upon preexisting infrastructure organizations to supply a pool of sympathetic adherents. The new, professional social movements such as Scientology utilized marketing methods to attract both believers (adherents), and financial supporters (constituents). An example of the traditional approach to resource mobilization through existing infrastructures is the relationship between the Catholic Church and pro-life social movements. Often pro-life groups rely upon the churches to contact and motivate Catholics on behalf of the anti-abortion social movement, thereby using the Catholic infrastructure network to gain supporters for the cause (McCarthy, 1987).

This type of infrastructural relationship does not exist between Scientology and the medical professions, so the intervening PMCs have to access "thin infrastructures" and utilize direct-mail solicitations and the media to contact potential adherents (McCarthy, 1987: 59-60). Thin infrastructures consist of lists of names and addresses that organizations can purchase from the original compiler (McCarthy, 1987: 59). Social networks are amenable to resource mobilization because they make successful mobilization "far more likely and less costly in human effort and material resources" (McCarthy, 1987: 55). The underlying rationale for linking like-minded potential adherents is that it serves to facilitate propagation of the social movement

ideology through purposefully generated "thin infrastructures" (McCarthy, 1987: 59).

With particular relevance for this study, Dexheimer quotes a former PMC staff member who indicated how the company used these "thin infrastructures" to obtain clients. The staff member told Dexheimer that "'we would purchase lists of dentists and vets and mail fliers to these folks. We were mailing 25,000 to 30,000 of them per week. The mailing included a slick brochure and a letter of recommendation, or testimonial, from another professional, as well as a referral list'" (quotation in Dexheimer, 1991: 8).

According to John McCarthy (1987: 59-61), direct-mail and media solicitations represent attempts by professional social movements to develop social networks, or infrastructures, among loosely affiliated potential adherents, where they do not already exist. PMC advertisements that highlight testimonials from established medical professionals offer an example of attempts to develop movement-generated social networks. These testimonials serve as validation of the PMC programs among individual professionals that are similar to, but isolated from, one another. They are a means of generating a social network for the purpose of sharing a potentially valuable service, or mobilization tool.

One of the primary tasks of any social movement involves obtaining and maintaining constituents (McCarthy & Zald, 1977: 1221). Because of their increased access to resource

pools and control over their own discretionary time and money, elites are the most valuable constituents of any social movement (McCarthy & Zald, 1973: 11). Thus, in addition to a movement-generated infrastructure, medical professionals share an elite socio-economic status that makes them attractive potential constituents.

Introductory Seminars/Practice Analyses

Regardless of the initial method of contact between PMCs and medical professionals, the relationship generally continues through an introductory seminar and/or practice analysis. The professionals often attend an introductory seminar after a personal invitation from a PMC representative. During the seminars, recruiting staff present L. Ron Hubbard's management principles and provide examples of how the professionals can apply these techniques in both professional and personal arenas (WISE, 1988b: 8). In 1988, five hundred chiropractors, podiatrists, optometrists, and veterinarians attended Sterling Consultants' introductory seminars each week (WISE, 1988b: 8). Hollander Consultants also offers free introductory seminars, which attract fifteen to one hundred attendees, twice weekly, across the United States (Dexheimer, 1991: 9).

At the introductory seminars, PMC staff introduces professionals to a variety of Hubbard's management techniques, including "the tone scale, the org board, the cycle of action, basics of marketing, management by

statistics, fixed ideas, and many more LRH basics," such as conditions, lines of communication and hard-sell techniques (WISE, 1992a: 5, WISE, 1992b: 10).[12] Following the seminar, PMC staff arranges an individual consultation with each medical professional (WISE, 1992a: 5). During these consultations a PMC staff member and the professional discuss an appropriate training program (WISE, 1992a: 5; Hall & Kent, Interview with Dr. White, 1995: 6).

Practice analyses generally involve intense and exhaustive examinations of the individual medical practice. The analyses usually involve two stages. The first stage involves an extensive conversation between consultant and client, and the second stage is a close scrutiny of the medical professional's practice documents, staff, and in some cases, interviews with patients (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1995: 10).

In addition to providing PMC staff with information about the general financial accounting and patient loads of the practice, the medical professionals also provide personal information about themselves, their spouses, and their staff through a 200-question personality profile, the Oxford

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12 TONE SCALE: a scale depicting various emotional states ranging from 0.0 = death to 4.0 = "serenity of beingness." ORG BOARD: a chart depicting the functional divisions within an organization. CYCLE OF ACTION: any action involves the following stages: creation, growth, conservation, decay, destruction. CONDITION: an operating state; individuals can operate in a number of different conditions, including "confusion, treason, enemy, doubt" and several others. I based these definitions on information contained in Modern Management Technology Defined (Hubbard, 1976a).

Capacity Analysis.[13] These personality profiles represent an essential element of the practice analysis, and according to one subject, "from Sterling's point of view, we were not allowed to have employees who didn't want to answer the test" (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1995: 9).

Practice analyses often go beyond professional issues, and enter into the personal life of the practitioner. According to one subject, "[The consultant] asked me a lot of very, very personal questions about me: 'Are you a drinker? Do you do drugs? Do you have sex outside of marriage?'" (Dexheimer, 1991: 12). This subject's wife adds:

> After the meeting they knew everything about us. They knew how much life insurance he had, with whom, his parents' income, any inheritance he was coming into, every checking account, our mortgage. They knew how much I paid for my horse trailer. They knew how many portable radios we have in the house. They knew more about our finances than I do (Dexheimer, 1991: 13).

PMCs can use this extensive knowledge of the professionals' financial situation to counter individual refusals to sign up for courses based on a lack of financial resources (Geary, 1994: 9, 10, 14; Hall & Kent, Interview, 1995: 36; Hall & Kent, Interview, 1994: 56). As we shall see, the PMCs also can use this information at a later date to convince medical

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13 The test contains 200 questions to which the respondent replies "yes," "maybe or sometimes," or "no" regarding how they would respond in specific situations. Scientology uses test results to determine whether an individual could benefit from Scientology auditing (Dexheimer, 1991:12).

professionals that they need Scientology courses to handle personal problems.

Introductory seminars represent only one method of initial contact between PMCs and medical professionals. In some cases, professionals contacted PMC recruiters out of general interest, in order to obtain a practice analysis with "no cost, no obligation, no pressure" (Dexheimer, 1991: 13). In other cases, where the professional did not feel a need for practice management training prior to contact with a PMC, consultants used practice analyses or introductory seminars to create such a perception.

According to Kevin Wilson, Chairman and CEO of Sterling Management Systems, a key to Sterling's success is its ability to "hard-sell the professionals attending our introductory seminars and enroll them onto our full program of training and consulting" (WISE, 1992b: 10). Along these lines, Dr. White describes the ability of PMC staff to generate an interest in their management consulting programs:

> ...They had such outrageously persuasive people doing these discussions. When they taught us about the Tone Scale, they had this guy come in, he was like Tony Robbins himself.[14] I mean their energy and their enthusiasm and their persuasiveness is just outrageous. And it just really is attractive to be around a person with that much vim and vigor. It makes you feel like

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14 Anthony Robbins is a contemporary American motivational speaker, and to the best of my knowledge, he is not affilited with Scientology.

> you want to be a part of that whether you understand what's going on or not (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1995: 13).

Thus, the PMCs appear to provide attractive, effectively marketed solutions to the medical professionals' management problems.[15]

The combination of predisposing needs for practice management consulting and the PMCs' ability to market an attractive product has led to a number of medical professionals becoming indirect constituents of the Church of Scientology. Through a licensing agreement between individual PMCs and the Church of Scientology, Scientology receives a royalty of approximately ten percent on all money invested in training and materials by PMC clients (Koff, 1987). Regardless of whether PMC clients choose to actively join Scientology, a portion of their fees supports the organization, making them financial constituents of the social movement.

Between 1983 and 1992, thirty-five thousand North American health care practitioners took part in Sterling's basic analysis and consultation services (WISE, 1992a: 5). In 1988, after a four-year association with Scientology, Singer Consultants had an annual client base of between eight hundred and one thousand medical professionals, with an

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15 Dr. White's consultant informed him that tax laws allow professionals to "write-off" a portion of their PMC training expenses. Dr. White indicated that this option played a significant part in his willingness to sign up for the PMC program, and further Scientology training (Hall & Kent, 1995: 35).

associated financial intake of approximately eight million dollars (WISE, 1985: 8; Koff, 1987). Estimates of Hollander's revenue range from three million dollars annually to approximately five hundred thousand dollars monthly (Dexheimer, 1991: 9). Although precise statistics are unavailable regarding the exact amount of money flowing from all PMCs into Scientology, the licensing agreement between individual PMCs and the church serves as a resource mobilization tool for the social movement.

In summary, practice management companies that offer Hubbard's ideology in the form of management techniques mediate initial interaction between medical professionals and Scientology. Because professional education often does not focus on practice management skills, professionals may be predisposed to need or want some form of management assistance. By capitalizing on this dearth of management skills and training, Scientology is able to use its preexisting management technology to turn thousands of medical professionals into constituents. If Scientology can increase this initial commitment, then it converts these constituents into adherents of its social movement efforts to "clear the planet."

Chapter 3: Practice Management Training: Becoming a Constituent

In order to establish that Scientology utilizes the PMCs to mobilize resources, I had to establish that the organizations are, in fact, linked to one another. At first glance, some of the information appeared to give contradictory information about such a link. My first introduction to the PMCs was through media accounts of medical professionals' experiences with them. According to some media accounts, the PMCs did not market themselves as Scientology organizations, yet they acknowledged that L. Ron Hubbard wrote the management materials that formed the basis of the training programs (Business Link, 1991: 2; Dexheimer, 1991: 8; Lopez, 1993: H5; Witt, 1989: 3; Zuziak, 1991: 2039). This acknowledgment seemed to contradict consultants' claims that no link existed between Scientology and the management companies (Cartwright, 1990: 1, 4; Dexheimer, 1991: 12; Koff, 1987: 5; Lopez, 1993: H1; Witt, 1989: 11; Zuziak, 1991: 2039). Regardless of any individual claims concerning the relationship between Scientology and the practice management companies, some observable facts indicate the relationship is stronger than the consultants admit.

Linking Scientology to its PMCs

The consultants featured in the media articles based their claims that the management companies are separate from

the Church of Scientology on a suggestion that religious Scientology is separate from secular Scientology (Lopez, 1993: H5; Witt, 1989: 3). In other words, they claimed that individuals could use Hubbard's management techniques effectively in secular situations, even though he developed them for use within his own, quasi-religious organization (WISE, 1983: ii). Medical professionals who feel that they have benefited from the programs support this assertion, and believe that the courses offer skills essential to effective practice management (Jakush, 1989: 7, 13, 14; Dynamic Chiropractic, 1988: 3-5,11-15,19, 23). In many cases, however, the relationship with the medical professionals extends beyond the PMCs and leads directly into the Church of Scientology.

The apparently multilayered relationship between Scientology and its PMCs is common among other ideological organizations and related service-providing programs. As Bird and Westley (1988:51) indicate, alternative religious associations often utilize oblique methods of resource mobilization. The groups separate the financial and ideological bodies of the organization, and "seek to contact potentially interested adherents by offering them valued services," as opposed to attempting an immediate religious conversion (Bird & Westley, 1988: 51). Obviously, the groups hope that at least some of the people paying fees for services will develop interest in the larger ideologies.

Resource Mobilization

Bird & Westley (1988:51) describe new religious movements as active missionary movements, ever eager to spread their message by direct and particularly by indirect means. The fee-for-service mobilization techniques that they utilize have two distinct purposes. They serve both as a method of raising money and as a proselytization tool. The groups offer their services to a largely transient body of clients who have little or no initial ideological commitment to the group. The researchers note that in contrast with traditional religious organizations, which rely upon obligatory donations from committed followers as expressions of group devotion, new religions must turn to non-members for financial assistance. This reliance upon non-members is especially true among new religions whose members have no outside means of support.

A number of groups other than Scientology have utilized the fee-for-service approach to resource mobilization. Transendental Meditation, for example, teaches clients a form of mantra-meditation in classes, seminars, and retreat weekends. Arica, est, Silva Mind Control, and Lifespring offered various courses on self-development and other therapeutically useful skills. Sri Chinmoy devotees once operated an organic food restaurant (Bird & Westley, 1988: 52, Westley, 1983).

The researchers note that the groups' initial interest in clients is in obtaining resources (Bird & Westley, 1988:

53). Conceptually, when the only contributions that individuals make to groups is financial, then the individuals are constituents of the movements. Important to realize, however, is that the groups eventually may seek to obtain more involvement from clients. Groups need greater commitment from at least some constituents because the "drop-out" rates in these various programs are very high (Bird & Westley, 1988:53). By encouraging constituents to make ideological commitments and become constituent-adherents, social movements such as Scientology assure that individuals involve themselves both mentally and financially.

One of Scientology's methods of indirect resource mobilization involves introducing medical professionals to L. Ron Hubbard through practice management programs. Although many PMC consultants deny the relationship between Scientology and its affiliated PMCs, several factors indicate strong ties between the organizations. The first indication is that Hubbard's management technology forms the basis of the PMCs' training programs. PMCs obtain the right to use Hubbard's ideas through The World Institute of Scientology Enterprises [WISE].

World Institute of Scientology Enterprises

The purpose of WISE is "getting L. Ron Hubbard's administrative technology broadly disseminated and used in the business world" (Church of Scientology International, 1989: 20). Towards this end, WISE licenses individuals and

businesses to use Hubbard's administrative technology. WISE markets and promotes programs designed to expand its own membership and the dissemination of Scientology doctrines. It also is the Scientology management body responsible for granting Sterling Management Systems, Hollander Consultants, and Singer Consultants the right to use Hubbard's ideas--in this case, his management technology (Gorman, 1990a: 29; Merwin, 1987: A1). Thus, the first link between Scientology and its practice management programs is organizational. Medical practitioners who enroll in Sterling and Hollander practice management courses learn the same organizational and management techniques that the Church of Scientology uses (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1995: 13,15).

In addition to its stated goal of information dissemination, WISE has additional objectives that are more religious than business in nature. Within WISE publications, the organization describes itself as a "religious fellowship organization" formed "in order to promote and foster [Hubbard's] Administrative Technology in society" (WISE, 1992a: i). In an interview with Prosperity magazine, Alan Hollander summarized the relationship between WISE, WISE members, their clients, and the Church of Scientology:

> PROSPERITY: What is your objective as a WISE member?
>
> HOLLANDER: My objective is to get as much technology into the environment as possible because that is contributing to Clearing the Planet. In fact, our real product here is clients who are winning with L. Ron

> Hubbard's Technology and reaching for more. We have gotten literally hundreds of people on the lines. In 1986 alone, we got 82 people started on the Bridge. From March 1986 to March 1987 the income to orgs from our clients has been $362,197. My feeling about this is that WISE members like ourselves can have a great impact on Clearing the Planet in terms of dissemination (WISE 1987: 9).

In this case, Alan Hollander described one of the goals of his organization as directing clients into Scientology in an effort to support the movement's goal of "Clearing the Planet." Thus, PMCs operate on behalf of Scientology, mobilizing resources of both money and new members towards its ideological end.

Even if practitioners choose not to enroll in training and auditing directly from the Church of Scientology, they nonetheless receive exposure to Scientology doctrine and practices. The Modern Management Technology that Hollander and Sterling utilize is the same technology offered within the Church of Scientology to its own executives (WISE, 1983: ii; Hall & Kent, Interview, 1995: 13, 15). The management companies' training programs mimic those of Scientology in both content and format. Both Scientology and the management companies offer "Management by Statistics," "Executive Basics," and "Communications" courses.

Training Methods

In addition to exposing their clients to Scientology courses, PMC trainers also approach learning in the same way as Scientology. Scientology recognizes Hubbard as the source of all theory and practice within the movement (Wallis, 1976: 138). Even in situations where Hubbard "did not invent a particular practice, only his approval legitimate[d] its use..." (Wallis, 1976: 138). Moreover, after Hubbard publicly relinquished power over the organization in 1969, he continued to be the sole author of many official church documents until his death in 1986. In addition, the organization purchased the right to use Hubbard's name following his official departure from group leadership. This arrangement allowed the organization to append Hubbard's name to church documents, indicating his approval, and thus initiating acceptance of the document by group members (Wallis, 1976: 138).

The organization's use of dictionaries offers further evidence that Hubbard's word is infallible. One of the organization's most basic policies suggests that when individuals come across written words that they do not understand, they are to stop reading and determine the words' meanings from dictionaries (Lamont, 1986: 30). Scientology

publishes its own dictionaries, and often Hubbard's definitions are very different from those in general use.[16]

If a student comes across a particularly difficult passage, then Scientology instructs that any difficulty in understanding is not the fault of the writer but the fault of the reader (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1995: 10; Wallis, 1976: 232). Because Scientology doctrine often is difficult to understand, students find themselves continually checking dictionaries, eventually doubting their own comprehension skills, and coming to rely upon Scientology's prescribed study methods (Wallis, 1976: 232). This emphasis on checking dictionaries encourages students to quickly and completely immerse themselves in Hubbard's ideas. Both PMC and Scientology supervisors insist that students check "misunderstoods"[17] in dictionaries (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1995: 10). Moreover, Scientology policies prohibit discussion or debate about either words' meanings or the techniques to which they apply (Hubbard, 1976a: 546).[18]

The training program generally consists of supervised reading, twelve hours daily for five to eight days (Gorman,

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16 For example: "Deliver: that means good case gains to preclears and students, good reality and useful knowledge and skill to every student" (Hubbard, 1976: 134)

17 "Misunderstoods" is a Scientology term that essentially means "misunderstood words."

18 Scientology's "Verbal Tech" doctrine prohibits members from either critically assessing or acting in a way that contradicts any of Hubbard's statements. According to Hubbard: "about the most ghastly thing to have around is verbal tech which means tech without reference to a [Hubbard Communications Office Bulletin] (i.e. memo), and direct handling out of the actual material" (Hubbard, 1976a: 546). In other words, Hubbard insisted that all Scientologists follow without question his specific instructions for handling each individual situation.

1990a: 28). PMC supervisors strictly control the learning environment within practice management training courses. One practitioner described the training in this way: "You're isolated, treated like a child. You check in and check out. You answer roll call. You aren't to speak to anyone else. If you speak to a room monitor, you must raise your hand" (Better Business Bureau, 1991: 3). Individuals who went beyond the practice management programs and into the Church of Scientology indicate that the training format was identical (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1994: 23,41; Hall & Kent, Interview, 1995: 13).

Staff

The similarities in the content and format of courses that both PMCs and the Church of Scientology offer reflect the fact that almost without exception, employees and executives of Hollander and Sterling also are practicing Scientologists (Cartwright, 1990: 1,4; Jakush, 1989: 7; Koff, 1988; Lopez, 1993: H1; Witt, 1989: 11). At Sterling, raises and promotions depend upon acceptance of and enrollment in Scientology courses, so that even if employees are not Scientologists when they are hired, they may be pressured to become church members (Cartwright, 1990: 1).

Personality Profiles

The Oxford Capacity Analysis personality profiles represent an additional tie between Scientology and its PMCs. Stewart Lamont estimates that Scientology recruits 10% of its active members through these free personality evaluations (1986: 35). PMC consultants usually administer the profiles to all professionals and their staff early in the consultation process, and Scientology uses test results to determine whether individuals could benefit from Scientology auditing (Dexheimer, 1991:12). Analyses of the profiles invariably identify personal problems that Scientology's programs and therapy supposedly can solve (Zuziak, 1991: 2042). PMCs use these personality profiles in their analysis of clients' medical practices, and refer their clients to Scientology based on the results.

According to Larry Silver, president of Hollander Consultants, "'We do not deal in personal problems, marital problems, or any problems but business problems....If they don't have anybody to help them, we will tell them about Scientology...'"(quoted in Zuziak, 1991: 2040). Kevin Wilson, Sterling's Chief Executive Officer, makes a similar statement when he claims that consultants will direct clients toward Scientology for help with personal problems because they feel it is "'the best help around'" (quoted in Jakush, 1989: 4). In other words, as part of their practice evaluation, the consulting firms utilize a personality

profile that almost invariably indicates a need for some form of counseling or therapy. Once they have identified this supposed need in clients, the PMC consultants refer them to the Church of Scientology.

Conversion Model

Turning Points

In their conversion model, Lofland and Stark suggest that the identification of personal problems, which they label "turning points," is an essential element in recruitment into an ideological organization. The theorists note that the effectiveness of turning points in contributing to the conversion process hinges on the timing of the event (Lofland & Stark, 1965: 870). Essentially, preconverts who reach turning points in their lives shortly before or concurrently with their encounter with ideological organizations are more likely to convert than are individuals who are not at such significant life-junctures (Lofland & Stark, 1965: 870).

Lofland and Stark describe a turning point as "a moment when old lines of action were complete, had failed or been disrupted, or were about to be so, and when [individuals] faced the opportunity (or necessity), and possibly the burden, of doing something different with their lives" (1965: 870). Although other researchers found that this factor was not necessary for conversion into some groups, it appears

conceptually appropriate for application to Scientology's use of personality profiles (Snow & Phillips, 1980).

In the context of the Lofland & Stark conversion model, Scientology uses the Oxford Capacity Analysis to create or highlight turning points for practitioners. These turning points involve the "identification" of personal problems that supposedly are hindering business performance. Subsequently Scientology offers a convenient solution to these problems. In this way, the organization attempts to develop a "situational contingency," either by emphasizing existing problems or suggesting potential difficulties.

Lofland and Stark (1965: 864) refer to situational contingencies as conditions that arise from "confrontation and interaction" between the potential convert and the ideological organization. The theorists argue that these conditions lead to the successful recruitment of predisposed individuals. Scientology utilizes the personality profiles to generate the first in a series of situational contingencies that bring the medical professionals closer to ideological conversion.

Introduction into Scientology through the practice management companies generally follows a set pattern. During the professional's practice management program, a PMC consultant identifies to the doctor potential "problems" indicated in the personality profile. Immediately the consultant suggests that unless the professional handles these personal problems, all the time and money that the

individual has invested in the management course will be wasted. The consultant then suggests or recommends that the professional consult with a recruiter from the Church of Scientology (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1995: 17). During this Scientology consultation, the Scientologist will recommend a specific program of both courses and auditing therapy to help the person deal with these personal issues.

According to interview subjects, these meetings occur late at night, after several long days of training. Often the meetings result in PMC clients agreeing to join Scientology, in an effort to gain Scientology's assistance in alleviating these newly identified personal problems. One interview subject commented on this process as it occurred during the practice management program:

> The scuttlebutt was that...this guy was a recruiter for Scientology, and everybody knew that. So everybody, all of us, all the dentists and podiatrists,...and periodontists, and chiropractors that were there with us, we all went in [to the private meeting with the consultant] with our eyes open, knowing that this guy was going to try to get us to sign up for Scientology. And so we all had this sense of invulnerability, that we were tough and we weren't going to fall for this.... None of us were going to sign up for this. In reality, every single one of us did, every single one of us did (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1995: 17-18).

Although it is difficult to access specific percentages, the data indicate that medical professionals do enter the Church of Scientology through PMC management programs. Officials from Singer Consultants, for example, acknowledge that about 20% of the chiropractors who sign up for management consulting also wind up in Scientology courses (Koff, 1987).

Client referral to the Church of Scientology embodies the recruitment process. Although Sterling and Hollander do not force practitioners to undertake Scientology training or counseling, some evidence exists that they pressure their clients to do so. For some practitioners, the pressure is very subtle, but for others it is a "hard sell" approach that does not appear to offer opportunities to refuse treatment (Geary, 1994; Hall & Kent, Interview, 1994; Hall & Kent, Interview, 1995).

Interview subjects indicate that in some cases the practitioner has a great deal of difficulty distinguishing the boundaries that separate the practice management program from the Church of Scientology. The experiences, for example, of one interview subject suggest that it can be difficult to determine where Hollander ends and the Church of Scientology begins. Dr. Green filled out a personality profile as part of a free practice evaluation that Hollander offered. While in Portland taking Hollander courses, Dr. Green's consultant reviewed with him the results of his personality profile and pointed out that the scores indicated that "there must be something wrong at home" (Hall & Kent,

Interview, 1994: 27). Following the doctor's acknowledgment of difficulties in his marriage, the consultant said to him "'I have somebody that [sic]...you could talk to that could probably help you with this, if you're interested'" (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1994: 27). Dr. Green expressed willingness to speak with the individual whom the consultant recommended. Indeed, one of the reasons he decided to take the practice management course was that he felt that if he could get his practice under control, then it would alleviate some of the strain in his marriage (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1994: 27).

Dr. Green's consultant arranged for a Scientology "counselor" to call him at his hotel room that evening, and (as events became clear in retrospect) he forwarded to the counselor copies of Dr. Green's and his wife's personality profiles. Dr. Green recalled being amazed by the fact that the counselor was able to identify very specific problems in his marriage without ever having met him personally. In his interview, he indicated that, "Nobody else knew, my parents didn't know, my sisters didn't know, to my knowledge, her parents and her brothers didn't know. And yet here was this stranger that [sic] was able to tell me about some of the problems that I was aware of that I have never told anybody. And here was this...person [who] could tell me this kind of information, so I thought, 'hey, there's got to be a lot of validity in this test'" (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1994: 28).

Having identified personal problems with Dr. Green's marriage, the Scientology counselor offered him a series of

training and counseling sessions. The counselor made no mention of Scientology, but informed Dr. Green that his program would involve "Dianetics" therapy, and "auditing" with an "e-meter." Dr. Green signed up for the prescribed counseling and training program. The counselor was an employee of the Church of Scientology, and the counseling and training that he recommended were held at the Church of Scientology organization in Orange County, California.

Varying somewhat from Dr. Green's experience, Dr. White indicated that the Scientology recruiter made a definite connection between the practice management course and the Church of Scientology (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1995: 22). In the experience of this particular medical professional, the Scientology recruiter indicated the essential tie between Sterling and Scientology. The recruiter implied that the doctor's substantial investment in Sterling's practice management training essentially would be wasted if he did not continue improving himself through Scientology courses and therapy. Dr. White agreed, and signed up for over thirty thousand dollars (U.S.) worth of Scientology training. Based on provisions within the PMC-WISE licensing agreement, the management company received a 10% commission on funds paid to Scientology. In terms of resource mobilization theory, Dr. White became a constituent-adherent, supporting Scientology both financially and ideologically (Hubbard, 1976: 201; see McCarthy & Zald, 1977: 1221).

In summary, during the initial stage of the conversion process, the PMCs introduce the professionals to Hubbard's ideology as a potentially effective management tool. After the initial professional management introduction, PMC staff arrange for their clients to meet with Scientology recruiters to discuss the possible applications of Hubbard's ideology to their personal lives. By licensing individual companies to promote Hubbard ideology, and then utilizing those companies as funnels into itself, Scientology has generated a successful and lucrative recruitment and resource mobilization vehicle.

Chapter 4: Entering Scientology: Becoming a Constituent-Adherent

Resource Mobilization Theory

McCarthy and Zald (1977: 1221) distinguish between constituents who support a social movement with resources, and adherents who believe in, or support a movement ideologically. They also suggest that a significant goal of any social movement is to develop constituent-adherents who will both believe in and support it (1977: 1221). Because a social movement's primary goal is survival, and it needs resources to do so, the movement must generate a large pool of committed supporters to provide those necessary resources (McCarthy & Zald, 1987: 28). Selective material incentives (such as increased wealth) and social-emotional incentives (such as status, friendship, and self-esteem) that the movement can exchange for donations effectively bind individuals to the organization, thus ensuring continued involvement and support (Bailis, 1974; Gamson, 1975; summarized in McCarthy and Zald, 1987: 28). In the context of this thesis, individual professionals/clients receive practice management consulting from the PMCs, and auditing therapy from Scientology, in exchange for fees or donations.

The relationship between PMCs, their clients, and Scientology indicates that, in this case, individuals become constituents of the social movement prior to gaining a full

appreciation of its ideological goals. Essentially, the medical professionals first become constituents, and then become adherents when they choose to go beyond practice management into Scientology. This pattern appears to contradict McCarthy and Zald's assumption that social movements must strive to convert adherents into constituents (1977: 1221). Nonetheless, the overall process remains intact, and PMC clients become constituent-adherents of the social movement by purchasing courses and counseling directly from Scientology. Important to note again is that medical professionals represent a very attractive group of potential constituents, because as *elite* members of society, they control larger resource pools than do most other social groups (McCarthy & Zald, 1977: 1221).

Prior to purchasing courses directly from Scientology, PMC clients represent *isolated constituents* of the social movement (McCarthy & Zald, 1987: 29). Isolated constituents have no direct involvement with the larger social movement, and are thus tied only tenuously to the organization (1987:30). Recruiting these isolated constituents directly into the social movement and converting them into constituent adherents ensures and increased level of solidarity and financial support (McCarthy & Zald, 1977: 9; 1987: 29-31). Thus, from a resource mobilization perspective, Scientology utilizes PMCs to locate and obtain potential elite constituent-adherents to help ensure its continued existence.

When medical professionals purchase management consulting from a PMC affiliated with Hubbard's teachings, the PMC forwards a portion of that money to the Scientology social movement. In this stage of involvement, the professional is a constituent of the social movement. If the professionals agree with the results of the personality profile and agree to counseling from Scientology, then they accept the social movement's ability to assist them with personal issues. In this stage of involvement, they become both constituents and adherents of the movement.

Although resource mobilization theory is able to describe both this process and the rationale of the social movement in attempting to generate constituent-adherents, it does not adequately explain why individuals choose to enter the movement. The most that theorists suggest is that movements obtain resources by offering potential constituents valued materials or services. They do not explain however, why individuals would choose the materials or services of any one particular social movement, or remain loyal to that movement after initial involvement.

Conversion Model

Again, I utilize the Lofland and Stark conversion model to assist in understanding continued commitment to a particular social movement. I have suggested that prior to direct interaction with Scientology, medical professionals

already may have encountered predisposing conditions that would make the management programs attractive. Because not all medical professionals become involved with PMCs, and not all of the professionals who seek PMC assistance become involved with Scientology, researchers must determine conditions that may distinguish between the differing levels of involvement.

I have suggested that Scientology uses its personality profiles to generate a turning point for the medical professional. If the professional accepts Scientology's offer of assistance in solving personal problems, then the individual signs up for counseling and becomes an active member of the social movement. Lofland and Stark identify three additional stages of increasing involvement: increasing cult affective bonds, decreasing extra-cult affective bonds, and intensive interaction with cult members.

Cult-Affective Bonds

Lofland and Stark refer to cult-affective bonds as the "development or presence of some positive, emotional, interpersonal response" that facilitates acceptance of the organization's message (1965: 871). For Dr. Green the formation of these bonds occurred during discussions with a Scientology recruiter about his personality profile. Dr. Green was impressed by the recruiter's ability to identify personal problems in his marriage, and to by the recruiter's offer of a solution that fit well with his own scientific

approach to problem solving. In addition, Scientology's offer of assistance provided an alternative to psychological counseling, an option that Dr. Green did not wish to consider (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1994: 27-33).

For Dr. White, the development of cult-affective bonds occurred later in the interaction process, during auditing sessions. Dr. White described auditing as an "incredibly powerful" experience and indicated that it was integral to his continued involvement in the organization (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1995: 30). Beyond these two examples, the size of the sample in this study makes it difficult to assert whether or not cult-affective bonds are essential to continued involvement with Scientology, but other researchers have supported Lofland and Stark's suggestion that it is integral to the conversion process (Greil & Rudy, 1984: 316; Kox, Meeus, & Hart, 1991: 238; Snow & Phillips, 1980: 440).

Extra-Cult Affective Bonds

In Lofland and Stark's original study, individuals with strong extra-cult affective bonds did not engage in continued involvement with the ideological organization (1965: 873). This same effect appears in the experiences of both Dr. White and Dr. Green. In other words, in cases where outside interests compete with an individual's intentions regarding conversion, conversion is unlikely to occur.

The families of both Dr. Green and Dr. White engaged in considerable efforts to withdraw the professionals from

Scientology involvement. Dr. White's spouse prevented him from obtaining financing for Scientology courses by contacting financial institutions and requesting that they delay processing of his loan applications (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1995: 38). To further hinder her husband's financial arrangements, Dr. White's spouse arranged for a team of ex-Scientology members and a "deprogrammer" to discuss the group with him (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1995:38). These discussions led to Dr. White's decision to discontinue his Scientology involvement.

Dr. Green's family also delayed financing in order to deter the doctor's association with the group. Although his family did not arrange a formal deprogramming, they did utilize the doctor's time away from the organization to persuade him to end his relationship with the group. Thus, in both Dr. White's and Dr. Green's cases, extra-cult affective bonds were effective in derailing the conversion process. Worth noting in one of these cases is that Scientology attempted to circumvent the ability of outsiders to withdraw the professional from the group. In this particular case, the recruiter suggested that the professional use Scientology courses to alleviate some marital problems, but when the spouse attempted to prevent the doctor from purchasing more courses, the same consultant suggested that the doctor leave his spouse (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1994: 61).

In the case of Dr. Geary, Scientology attempted to prevent a similar outside influence by enrolling the doctor's spouse in Scientology courses:

> The next day when I arrived at Sterling Management, I was surprised to see my wife in the hallway with Mr. Bradham. Sterling Management had apparently called her at the hotel, and convinced her to come to Sterling Management in order to support me in my endeavors. I was informed by Mr. Bradham that my wife had already signed up for auditing, so I felt I had no choice but to also sign up for auditing. Sterling Management played my wife and I off each other to sell these auditing courses (Geary, 1994: 7).

Dr. Geary and his wife eventually received assistance from his staff members in exiting the group, which means that extra-cult affective bonds again were responsible for disrupting the conversion process.

Intensive Interaction

The final stage in Lofland and Stark's conversion model is intensive interaction between the recruit and members of the organization. In support of the original formulation, both Snow and Phillips as well as Greil and Rudy found that intensive interaction was essential to cementing the conversion process (1980: 442; 1984: 316). Because friends and family of the professionals in the present sample interfered with the conversion process, it is difficult to

assess the relative importance of intensive interaction in maintaining member loyalty in Scientology.

Important to note, however, is that Scientology staff members made significant efforts to have the practitioners continue their involvement as soon as possible after agreeing to enter the organization. In some cases, Scientology arranged for staff members to accompany professionals into their own homes to ensure that they were making appropriate arrangements for financing and efforts to begin courses. Dr. Green indicated that "they were prepared to follow me around the country while I went to camping, so that we could do this two-week [Purification Rundown Course]" (1994: 75). Dr. Geary also had a field auditor living in his house administering a Purification Rundown, and adds that the Scientologist "began screening my [telephone] calls," and "controlling my house" (Geary, 1994: 11). In these cases, the organization appears to have attempted to arrange for circumstances involving intensive interaction between new and established members beyond the physical boundaries of the organization.

Medical professionals become constituent-adherents of Scientology by purchasing courses and counseling from the movement. By doing do, they indicate their acceptance of Scientology ideology for application in their personal lives. In extreme cases, this acceptance may involve professionals allowing Scientologists to move into their houses and begin managing their personal and financial activities. From

Scientology's perspective, such intrusive behavior simply is part of its efforts to clear the planet, which, in ideal circumstances for the group, would involve processing the world's entire population through its programs. Presumably, then, all clients of the practice management companies are potential clients or constituent-adherents of the larger Scientology social movement. A complete transfer of clients however, does not occur from one group (the PMCs) to the other (Scientology).

If, as a social movement, Scientology attempts to route all PMC clients onto the bridge, then perhaps individual differences in situational contingencies contributes to if not causes recruitment failure. Along these lines, Lofland and Stark suggest that once the initial relationship between potential recruits and social movement has been established, situational contingencies govern completion of the transition towards membership. If the social movement cannot adequately manipulate cult affective bonds, extra-cult affective bonds, and intensive interaction with the individual recruit, then the recruitment process is incomplete, and people fail to join.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion

I have utilized Lofland and Stark's conversion model to assist in developing an understanding of individual motives in joining Scientology through its affiliated practice management programs. The original formulation of the conversion model and subsequent evaluations of its effectiveness have relied upon diverse sample sizes of respondents to provide statistical support for the model's central claims.[19] Researchers have had varying amounts of success in supporting and refuting the original model (Downton, 1980; Greil & Rudy, 1984; Kox, Meeus, & Hart, 1991; Richardson, 1985; Rocheford, 1982; Snow & Phillips, 1980). Rather than offering an additional test of it, I have used the model to supplement an explanation of Scientology's recruitment through PMCs, based on the central assumptions of resource mobilization theory.

Marketed Social Movements

In order of appreciate fully Scientology's resource mobilization efforts, it is important to acknowledge the movement's entrepreneurial approach to recruitment. Hank Johnston's (1980: 333) approach to religious conversion

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19 Lofland and Stark's original study contained "complete" data on fifteen of twenty-one total converts; Downton's sample included eighteen converts to the Divine Light Mission; Greil and Rudy referred to ten case studies of various groups; Kox, Meeus, and Hart studied ninety-two Dutch adolescents; Rochford studied survey data from two hundred Hare Krishna devotees; Snow and Phillips conducted fifteen interviews, and supplemented this data with media testimonials and observational data.

utilizes an economic conception of both the social movement and the individual recruit. Johnston based his model within the same economic context as resource mobilization theory, but went beyond the original theory to suggest motivations for specific economic choices by the social movement as well as consideration of individual choices in the recruitment process.

Johnston (1980: 363) suggests that the most appropriate measure of a social movement's success is its ability to recruit members. Johnston equates members with resources, and indicates that for specific ideological groups (such as Transendental Meditation and Scientology) large numbers of members are essential to achieving the stated goals of the social movement. In the case of Scientology, where the central movement objective involves "clearing the planet," the target recruit population is arguably the entire population of the world. Thus, effective attainment of the movement's goal involves getting the Scientology message to as many people as possible.

Johnston (1980: 341) suggests that marketed social movements attempt to increase their proselytizing effectiveness by manipulating their message in order to attract a large number of divergent target populations of recruits. The organization will modify its recruitment message in order to offer the most attractive product to a particular population. Johnston also indicates that in marketed social movements, recruitment efforts appear more

like sales transactions, with recruits agreeing to purchase only products that they find attractive.

Recruitment as a sales transaction appears conceptually appropriate as a description of the events occurring to the PMC clients in the present sample. On the recommendation of a Scientology recruiter, the medical professionals purchased Scientology courses or counseling in order to solve specific personal problems. They appeared to view the event as an opportunity to extend their use of Hubbard's scientific approach to problem solving beyond their professional activities and into their personal lives. The essential link between professional status and personal identity may also have contributed to this decision. In other words, professionals who rely heavily upon their professional success as a measure of personal worth, may have seen the progression from a PMC into Scientology as both logical and necessary. This extension was of an already accepted method, rather than an shift towards a completely foreign ideological paradigm, as described in traditional conversion models (Richardson, 1985: 165).

Johnston's sales-transaction conceptionalization also reflects the private, rather than social, nature of the decision-making process. He suggests that "marketed social movements respond to a wide scope of privatized grievances rather than to ones that are articulated through shared experience" (1980: 349). Extending these insights to the Scientology discussion, individual decisions to join

Scientology occurred during one-on-one discussions between recruiters and clients, rather than in large groups where social facilitation may have affected individual decisions.

In Johnston's model, recruitment occurs when a social movement convinces prospective clients to purchase the ideologically-based product. Said in more detail, the movements must generate attractive products, market them to specific target populations, and the individual must choose to accept those products. Thus, both the social movement and the individual are active participants in the recruitment process.

Although the final purchasing decision rests with the consumer, Johnston suggests that:

> If people can be sold products that they do not need, they can also be sold social movements that they do not need. Rather than responding to genuine grievances, the movement creates a market for itself by promoting worthy causes or hinting at aspects of a person's life [that] can be improved, and by appealing to the tradition of self-help and self-responsibility. Regardless of the sources of tension or strain in one's life, a grievous situation can be interpreted as the fault of the individual and remedied by movement participation (1980, 348-349).

Along these lines, Dr. White summarizes how the recruiter appealed to the tradition of self-help:

> his whole point was, 'Here you are you're trying to improve your practice. How can you really improve your practice unless you improve yourself? And this is your opportunity now to be a better person yourself. And you can already see how much good Hubbard technology is going to be for your practice, can you imagine the manifold improvement when you yourself are better, and therefore are able to function as a better father, a better husband, and a better veterinarian?' (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1995: 22).

Dr. Green also was attracted by the "self-help" message, suggesting that although he admitted needing some assistance with a mental problem, "about the last thing I want[ed] to do was have to go to a psychologist" (Hall & Kent, Interview, 1994: 30-31).

Manipulating the Message

Again, the marketed social movement's success hinges on acquiring and keeping recruits, especially elite ones. Johnston indicated that the Transendental Meditation movement developed and marketed distinct programs to students, businesspeople, the anxious, and the seeking (1980: 342). Similarly, Scientology offers potential constituents several modes of entry into the organization. In addition to the PMC programs, Narconon, and the free IQ and personality assessments already described, Scientology introductory routes also include educational programs, the Citizens

Commission on Human Rights, Health Med Clinic, and the Concerned Businessmen's Association of America, among others (Hubbard, 1978: 85-106; Kent, 1988: 1-2, 12; Lamont, 1986: 33, 152; Zellner, 1994: 116-123).

Applied Scholastics International, for example, promotes Scientology doctrine by integrating Hubbard's ideology in secular educational settings through schools. In 1986, Applied Scholastics claimed to be working with 24 schools worldwide, including Edmonton's Progressive Academy, and also to be training parents to teach their own children at home with Hubbard's methods (Social Coordination International, 1986: 1). The Citizens Commission on Human Rights is a Scientology organization involved in campaigning against the use of medical drug therapy for mental illness (Hubbard, 1978: 98). Health Med Clinic offers its clients Hubbard's physical purification method to rid the body of toxins or carcinogens (Zellner, 1994: 120). The Concerned Businessmen's Association promotes Hubbard's moral code to children by sponsoring the dissemination of Scientology's *Way to Happiness* program in schools all over the world. The organization has distributed over 28 million copies of *the Way to Happiness* pamphlet, which is available in fourteen languages (Zellner, 1994: 120).

These organizations are only a sample of the many Scientology affiliated groups disseminating Hubbard's ideology worldwide. They represent the organization's ability to manipulate its message in order to appeal to a

widely divergent group of potential members. Johnston suggests that this divergent appeal is an essential capacity in a marketed social movement where membership size is inexorably tied to the group's success (1980: 336). By contacting a large and diverse group of potential constituent-adherents, Scientology provides itself an opportunity to increase its membership ranks in an effort to achieve its grandiose, global goal.

The intention of this thesis was to examine Scientology's efforts at recruiting and fundraising through front companies specializing in practice management consulting for medical professionals. This examination combined McCarthy and Zald's resource mobilization theory and Lofland and Stark's conversion model. The combination of the two theories was an attempt to understand both organizational and individual components of recruitment and fundraising. It also was an attempt to fill deficiencies in each theory in relation to my topic. Resource mobilization theory provides researchers an opportunity to examine the economic choices of social movements, but does not provide sufficient conceptual means for understanding the actions of individuals in supporting those choices. Lofland and Stark's conversion model allows researchers to identify the processes involved in recruitment into an ideological organization, but does not adequately define an organization's need for such recruitment. Thus, these two approaches provided a complementary context in which to study the recruitment and

mobilization efforts of Scientology, as well as the choices that individuals make in supporting those efforts.

Resource mobilization through PMCs is a relatively recent development in Scientology's forty-three year history, as both Sterling and Singer trace their development to the 1980s (WISE, 1985: 8; WISE, 1992b: 10). Through a licensing agreement with WISE, these organizations pay a percentage of their profits to Scientology, as well as receive a percentage of profits made by the larger organization on members recruited through their programs. In addition to these economic and organizational ties, Scientology and its PMCs also share ideological ties, since both organizations base their activities on Hubbard's prolific writings and lectures. The ideological, economic, and organizational links between PMCs and Scientology provide it access to a large pool of elite potential constituent-adherents, who are professionally, and in some degree, financially, elite.

These potential constituent-adherents come in the form of medical professionals predisposed to need management consulting by professional training that does not adequately prepare them for the complexities of a modern medical business practice. When inadequate management skill preparation combines with increasing competition and declining incomes, some professionals reach a turning point in their professional careers, when they seek assistance in alleviating their management difficulties. If, at this crucial juncture, these professionals come into contact with

one of Scientology's PMCs, then recruitment into the social movement becomes possible. If the organization effectively manipulates affective bonds and interaction with these potential recruits, then ideological conversion becomes probable.

This thesis generated three distinct propositions regarding the relationship between Scientology, its practice management companies, and elite potential constituent-adherents. The first of these propositions involved establishing that professional medical training does not provide students adequate training in managerial skills. In an effort to confirm this proposition, I utilized both objective measures of the amount of training available to students, as well as subjective evaluations regarding preparation and competency. Both measures confirmed that professional schools offer inadequate instruction in this essential sub-set of professional skills. In essence, professional training predisposes students to seek outside assistance in developing competency in practice management.

A second proposition stated that Scientology has entered the field of practice management consulting through several front-companies. Because PMC executives denied their relationship with the larger social movement, verifying this proposition involved establishing the links between Scientology and its front companies.

Scientology internal documents and PMC publications offered evidence of several organizational and ideological

links between the groups. For example, Scientology's WISE organization licenses individual companies, like PMCs, to promote Hubbard's ideas for secular use. In addition, WISE requires that its companies both utilize and promote Hubbard ideology precisely, without deviation. In essence, WISE companies "apply LRH's Administrative Technology 100% standardly," operating in the same way as all other Scientology organizations (WISE, 1992a: inside cover). Further links involve percentage-based commissions flowing between Scientology and its PMCs, adding a financial link to the relationship. Finally, regardless of whether an individual purchases courses directly from Scientology or through one of its front companies, the course materials and training methods are identical. These organizational, functional, practical, financial, and ideological ties refute any claims of independence by PMC executives. Financial ties between the social movement and its front companies help to establish the final thesis proposition, that Scientology uses the PMCs as resource mobilization tools to generate both financial income and new members.

By examining the relationship between Scientology, PMCs, and medical professionals, this thesis has established that ideological recruitment no longer requires direct interaction between organization and individual, as was the case in Lofland and Stark's original study. By offering training to elites who lack basic skills necessary for the business aspects of their professions, PMCs introduce medical

professionals to Hubbard's ideology. After many professionals accept the application of Hubbard's ideas in their professional lives, some of them accept the extension of those ideas into their personal lives. When this extension happens, professionals can undergo complete ideological conversion.

Important to realize is that the goal of sociological inquiry into religion is to identify patterns of religious behavior rather than to evaluate or judge the content of belief systems. For this reason, it is inappropriate to suggest that individual participation in Scientology is in any way questionable. It is essential, however, for sociologists to undertake critical assessments of ideological recruitment when that behavior involves concealing the true nature of the relationship.

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Appendix A

Summary of Professionals' Involvement and Attitudes

	Professional	Involvement in PMC	Attitude toward PMC	Involvement in Scientology	Attitude toward Scientology
Interview Sample					
1	"Dr. Green"	Y	-	Y	-
2	"Dr. White"	Y	-	Y	-
3	Office Manager	N	-	N	-
Legal Affidavit					
4	Dr. Geary				
Media Sample					
5	Dr. Farrell	Y	-	Y	-
6	Dr. Rach	Y	-	Y	-
7	Dr. Newman	Y	+	Y	+
8	Dr. Sutherland	Y	-	Y	-
9	Dr. Kalapus	Y	-	Y	-
10	Dr. Scheer	Y	-	Y	-
11	Dr. Bentz	Y	-	Y	-
12	Dr. Barganier	Y	-	Y	-
13	Dr. Lowy	Y	-	Y	-
14	Dr. Rowe	Y	-	Y	-
15	Sterling Employee	N/A	-	N	-
16	Sterling Employee	N/A	-	N	-
17	Dr. Genova	Y	+	U	U
18	Dr. Joines	Y	+	U	U
19	Dr. Kutter	Y	-	U	U
20	Dr. Mason	Y	-	U	U
21	K. Dvorak (dental assistant)	N	-	N	-
22	S. Budelman (dental assistant)	N	-	N	-
23	Dr. Trager	Y	+	N	U

24	Dr. Martin	Y	-	N	U
25	Dr. Hagan	Y	+	N	U
26	Dr. Gillin	Y	+	Y	+
27	Dr. Worthington	Y	+	Y	+
28	Dr. Benk	Y	+	U	U
29	Dr. Mason	Y	-	Y	-
30	Dr. Beaumont	Y	+	U	U
31	Dr. Gurski	Y	+	Y	+
32	Dr. Gray	Y	+	U	+
33	Withheld	Y	-	U	-
34	Dr. Romanello	Y	+	Y	+
35	Dr. Kenyon	N	U	N	-
36	Dr. LaRock	Y	+	U	U
37	Dr. Eckfeld	Y	-	N	-
38	Dr. Cima	Y	+	U	U
39	Withheld	Y	-	N	U
40	Dr. Willinsky	Y	+	N	U
41	Withheld	Y	-	Y	-
42	Dr. Cauble	U	-	U	-
43	Dr. Conrad	Y	-	Y	-
44	Dr. Hamilton	Y	+	N	+
45	Dr. Forsyth	U	-	U	-
46	Dr. Margolies	Y	+	N	U
47	Dr. Ball	Y	-	N	U
48	Dr. Rivene	Y	+	Y	+
49	Withheld	N	-	N	-
50	Dr. Nedd	Y	+	U	U
51	Withheld	N	-	N	-
52	Dr. Youtsler	Y	+	U	U
53	Withheld	Y	-	Y	-
54	Dr. Pinkus	Y	+	U	U
55	S. Baer (Office Manager)	Y	-	Y	-
56	Dr. Aylor	Y	+	Y	+
57	Dr. Vlietstra	N	-	N	-
58	Dr. Supervile	Y	+	Y	+
59	Dr. Freedman	Y	+	U	U

Explanation of codes:

N = No - = Negative

U = Unknown + = Positive

Y = Yes

Media Subject Sources:

5-7:	Lopez, 1993
8:	Better Business Bureau, 1991
9-11:	Koff, 1987
12:	Witt, 1989
13:	Brady, 1993
14:	Dean, 1990
15,16:	Cartwright, 1990
17-20:	Zuziak, 1991
21,22:	Knox, 1992
23-28:	Jakush, 1989
29-30:	Dexheimer, 1991
31:	Gorman, 1990
32-59:	Dynamic Chiropractic, 1988

Appendix B

Summary of Codes Used in Content Analysis

1. Method of approach
2. Claims regarding potential benefits
3. Techniques offered to improve management skills
4. Introductory seminar characteristics
   - -attendees
   - -location
   - -date
   - -cost
   - -personal comments
5. Training Session
   - -attendees
   - -location
   - -date
   - -cost
   - -personal comments
6. Experiences management training
7. Links between PMC and Scientology
8. Personality profiles
9. Auditing Experiences
10. Further training
11. Scientology courses taken
12. Financial arrangements
13. Individual experiences
14. Positive aspects of experience